

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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O R 230607Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4615  
CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN  
USIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 0464

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E O 11652: GDS  
TAGSC CSCE, OCON  
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE-- WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, JAN 17-20

REF: 77 BELGRADE 9122

SUMMARY: WHAT EVERYONE AGREES SHOULD BE THE FINAL PHASE  
OF THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS OPENED IN DEADLOCK. THE  
SOVIETS INTRODUCED AT THE FIRST SESSION AFTER THE HOLIDAY  
RECESS A BRIEF, GENERAL DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT  
CONTAINS MOST MAJOR EASTERN POINTS AND CIRTUALLY NOTHING  
OF THE WEST'S IDEAS AND HAVE INSISTED THAT DRAFTING ON  
ANY OTHER BASIS AT THIS LATE DATE IS POINTLESS, TWENTY-  
NINE DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING THE ROMANIAN, HAVE EXPRESSED  
FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET APPROACH,  
INSISTING IN TURN THAT A GOOD FAITH EFFORT MUST BE MADE  
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TO PRODUCE A SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT  
WOULD ACCORD WITH THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACHE  
TO THE CSCE PROCESS. THE SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED IN  
VARIOUS WAYS, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS THEIR INTENTION TO  
DOWNGRADE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BELGRADE MEETING AND  
TO ESCAPE FROM IT, COME WHAT MAY, BY THE MID-FEBRUARY  
TARGET DATE SPECIFIED IN THE YELLOW BOOK OF THE

PREPARATORY MEETING. WITH WORK EFFECTIVELY STALLED IN THE INDIVIDUAL DRAFTING GROUPS, WESTERN DELEGATES HAVE SENT OUT SIGNALS THAT DAYSWASTED IN JANUARY MAY HAVE TO BE ADDED ON IN FEBRUARY, AND THEY DEVELOPED AT THE END OF THE WEEK A PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SMALL, INFORMAL CONTACT GROUPS IN WHICH NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED DELEGATIONS WOULD PLAY GO-BETWEEN ROLES IN AN EFFORT TO DEVELOP ACCEPTABLE SUBSTANTIVE COMPROMISE TEXTS. END SUMMARY.

1. PLENARY -- SOVIET DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, INTRODUCED AT JANUARY 17 PLENARY, IS ONLY THREE PAGES, IT CONTAINS MAJOR SOVIET DESIDERATA INCLUDING FORMULATION THAT FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT REQUIRES IMPROVEMENT IN DETENTE, PRIORITY OF DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, GENERAL LANGUAGE ABOUT IMPORTANCE OF COMPLEMENTING POLITICAL DETENTE WITH MILITARY DETENTE, CREATION OF FORUM FOR SPECIAL CONSULTATIONS ON SECURITY MATTERS, AND ENDORSEMENT OF BREZHNEV PROPOSAL FOR BASKET TWO CONFERENCES IN ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY AND TRANSPORTATION. IT CONTAINS NO REFERENCE TO FAILINGS IN IMPLEMENTATION DOCUMENTED DURING BELGRADE REVIEW, TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, OR TO ANY WESTERN NEW PROPOSALS TO IMPROVE IMPLEMENTATION, AND ONLY VERY GENERAL BASKET THREE STATEMENT ON "READINESS TO CONTINUE THE EXPANSION OF COOPERATION." ONLY BOW TO  
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WESTERN INTERESTS IS ACCEPTANCE OF MADRID AS SET FOR A 1980 FOLLOW-UP MEETING. SOVIET AMBASSADOR VORONTSOV PRESENTED DRAFT ON VIRTUAL TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT BASIS, SAYING THAT SOVIETS WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE SOME DRAFTING CHANGES BUT BELIEVED IT REPRESENTED REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF WHAT WAS ACHIEVABLE IN WEEKS REMAINING TO CONFERENCE. HE STRESSED IN PLENARY THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON MAJOR WESTERN PROPOSALS AND TOLD AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG DURING A PRIVATE LUNCHEON JAN 18 THAT SOVIET DEL IS UNDER ORDERS DIRECT FROM BREZHNEV TO ACCEPT NO REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. WHILE SOVIET TACTICS HAVE VARIED SLIGHTLY IN EACH OF THE INDIVIDUAL DRAFTING GROUPS, THEY HAVE ESSENTIALLY STUCK TO THEIR INSISTENCE THAT IT IS POINTLESS TO WORK ON ANY OTHER BASIS THAN THEIR DRAFT.

2. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED DELS HAVE REACTED SHARPLY TO THE SOVIET POSITION. IN A PARTICULARLY COGENT STATEMENT AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG TOLD JAN 17 PLENARY THAT MEETING SHOULD WORK FOR A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT INCLUDED MAJOR POLITICAL SUBSTANCE, INCLUDING HONEST ASSESSMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION

EXPERIENC, COMMITMENTS TO DO BETTER, AND APPROPRIATE  
REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS. AMB EMPHASIZED TO  
VORONTSOV AT LUNCH THAT HE IS UNDER PERSNAL  
INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT TO ENSURE THAT CONCLUDING  
DOCUMENT INCLUDES HUMAN RIGHTS THEME. FULL SPECTRUM  
OF DELS, INCLUDING ROMANIAN, HAVE ECHOED HIS CALL FOR  
GOOD FAITH EFFORTS TO PRODUCE POLITICALLY MEANINGFUL  
DOCUMENT. A NUMBER OF DELS, INCLUDING YUGOSLAV, HAVE  
WARNED ABOUT NEGATIVE EFFECT ON DETENTE THAT COULD  
ESULT FROM APPARENT EFFORT BY SOVIETS TO  
DOWNGRADE BELGRADE MEETING.

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FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE  
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3. WESTERN HEADS OF DELEGATION SPENT MUCH OF WEEK  
ATTEMPTING TO DEVELOP MECHANISM FO DRAWING SOVIETS INTO  
MEANINGFUL DRAFTING. AT END OF WEEK THEY DEVELOPED  
PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH SMALL CONTACT GROUPS FOR EACH MAJOR  
AREA OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, TO INCLUDE A FEW EC-9 AND  
NATO REPS, A NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED "GO-BETWEEN" AND AN  
EASTERN REP. HOPE IS THAT SOVIETS WILL ACCEPT THESE  
GROUPS AS NEW INFORMAL FORUM IN WHICH TO WORK OUT  
COMPROMISE TEXTS, BUT SOVIET REACTION IS STILL UNCLEAR.

4. BASKET ONE (PRINCIPLES) -- THIS GROUP HAD ONLY  
ONE SESSION AND SPNT IT IN ULTIMATELY VAIN EFFORT TO

DEMONSTRATE THAT IT COULD PICK UP DRAFTING AS USUAL WHERE IT LEFT OFF BEFORE CHRISTMAS. POLES WITHDREW THEIR BASICALLY UNEXCEPTIONABLE CHAPEAU LANGUAGE IN FAVOR OF BRIEF PORTION OF SOVIET CONCLUDING DOCUMENT TEXT THAT DEALS WITH PRINCIPLES. IN CONTRAST, ROMANIANS CONFIDENTIAL

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CONTINUED TO INSIST ON THEIR CHAPEAU LANGUAGE. SOVIETS, HOWEVER, REFUSED CONSENSUS SAYING THAT DRAFTING GROUP NEEDS FIRST TO ADOPT MORE REALISTIC (I. E. SOVIET) ATTITUDE ABOUT REALITY OF WHAT WAS ACHIEVABLE.

5. BASKET ONE (CBMS) -- ALLIES MADE FINAL ADJUSTMENTS TO CBM NEGOTIATING SYNTHESIS AND CIRCULATED IT INFORMALLY TO OTHER DELS. IN SECURITY DRAFTING GROUPS, SOVIET UNION, SUPPORTED INTERMITTENTLY BY GDR, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND POLAND BUT MUCH OF THE TIME PARYING ALLIES AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED ALL ALONE, FRUSTRATED ALL EFFORTS TO PURSUE SERIOUS DRAFTING. DRAFTING GROUP DEVOTED TWO DAYS TO COMPOSITE TEXT ON EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS SUBMITTED BY UK AND ONE TO COMPOSITE MOVEMENTS NOTIFICAION TEXT SUBMITTED BY YUGOSLAVIA WITHOUT ENGAGING IN REAL SUBSTANTIVE EXCHANGE ON EITHER OR AGREEING ON A SINGLE LINE OF TEXT.

6. BASKET TWO -- SOVIETS HAVE MOVED ONLY GRUDGINGLY OFF THEIR BEGINNING OF WEEK POSITION THAT IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT N ANY NEW PROPOSALS. THEY HAVE AGREED TO TRY DRAFTING BUT RESULTS SO FAR HAVE BEEN INCONCLUSIVE. A RATHER INNOCOUS HUNGARIAN-GDR PROPOSALS ON DRUGS AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES WAS WRITTEN INTO NOTEBOOKS WITH BRACKETS, AND SOVIETS ARE NOW PUSHING TO HAVE GROUP TAKE UP POLISH PROPOSAL ON TRADE POLICY ISSUES INCLUDING MFN. WESTERN DELS ARE SEEKING TO WORK FIRST ON MORE MANAGEABLE PROPOSALS IN ORDER TO BUILD RECORD THAT SOME PROGRES AT LEAST IS ACHIEVABLE.

7. MEDITERRANEAN -- SOVIETS EXPLAINED THAT THEY INCLUDED CONFIDENTIAL

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CONCEPT OF AN EXPERTS MEETING ON BASKET TWO AND CULTURAL SUBJECTS IN VALLETTA IN THEIR DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT BUT NOT A POLITICAL CONFERENCE BECAUSE SENSITIVE MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY ISSUES ARE BETTER DEALT WITH IN

OTHER FORUMS. MALTESE REP INSISTED FORCEFULLY THAT HIS PRIME MINISTER COULD NOT ACCPET SUCH A LIMITED MEETING AS ONLY RESULT FOR REGION FROM BELGRADE MEETING. HE HAS TOLD USDEL PRIVATELY THAT MALTESE DEL MIGHT WSLK OUT IF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT DOES NOT TREAT MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES ADEQUATELY. INITIAL DRZFTING WORK WAS CONFINED THIS WEEK, HOWEVER, TO FACTUAL DESCRIPTION OF MEDITERRANEAN ASPECTS OF BELGRADE MEETING ABOUT WHICH THERE WILL PROBABLY NOT BE MUCH DIFFICULTY IN REACHING CONSENSUS.

8. BASKET THREE -- FORMAL AND INFORMATION SESSIONS ATTEMPTED TO DRAFT ON BASIS ON THE EIGHT SYNTHESIS TABLED BEFORE CHRISTMAS BUT WERE FRUSTERATED WHEN THE SIVIETS SAID ALL BUT MINOR WESTERN PARAGRAPHS WERE UNACCEPTABLE. NATO CAUCUS DESIGNESS (US AND DENMARK) IN A DINNER MEETING, FOUND THE SOVIETS UNWILLING TO CONSIDER EXISTING PAPER, PLEADING LACK OF TIME TO RESOLVE DIFFICULT PROBLEM. SOVIET SAID THEY WOULD WORK, HOWEVER ON A NEW , SHORT, MODERATE DRAFT IF ONE WERE PRDUCED.

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9. FOLLOW-UP -- UNOFFICIAL CONNSSENSUS WAS REACHED ON

MADRID AS SITE OF NEXT SIMILAR MEETING. MAJOR PROBLEMS  
REMAIN HOWEVER ON DATE AND MODALITIES OF NEXT MEETING.  
SOVIE REP INSISTED THAT "AUTUMN 1980" WAS  
EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE FOR START OF NEXT MEETING INDICATING  
MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY OF AUGUST, 1980 STARTING  
DATE FOR PREPARATORY MEETING, AND OTHER WESTERN AND NEUTRAL  
/NON-ALIGNED DELS EXPRESSED STRONG PREFERENCE FOR STARTING  
DATE EARLIER IN YEAR. SOVIET REP ALSO STRESSED THAT NEXT  
PREPARATORY MEETING SHOULD BEGIN AT LEAST TWO MONTHS PRIOR  
TO MAIN MEETING IN ORDER TO GIVE ADEQUATE TIME FOR WORK  
OF PREPARATORY MEETING AND TO LEAVE SUITABLE PERIOD FOR  
CONSULTATIONS AND PLANNING. SOVIETS LINKED DESIRE FOR  
LONGER PREPARATORY MEETING WITH QUESTION OF DETERMINING  
MODALITIES OF NEXT SIMILAR MEETING, WHICH IN THEIR  
VIEW COULD NOT MERELY BE ADOPTED FROM THE YELLOW  
BOOK MUTATIS MUTANDIS BUT WOULD HAVE TO BE REFLECTIVE  
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OF "ENTIRE CSCE EXPERIENCE". THIS APPARENTLY REFLECTS  
A DESIRE TO STRUCTURE A MADRID MEETING VERY DIFFERENTLY  
FROM ITS BELGRADE PREDECESSOR. WIDE RANGE OF ALLIED AND  
NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED REPS, INCLUDING U.S., EMPHASIZED  
IMPORTANCE OF YELLOW BOOK AND BELGRADE EXPERIENCE IN  
DETERMINING MODALITIES FOR NEXT SIMILAR MEETING  
AND DISPUTED OBVIOUS SOVIET EFFORT TO DOWN-GRADE  
IMPORTANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE.  
SOVIET REP STRESSED THAT DECISION ON LEVEL OF MADRID  
MEETING COULD ONLY BE MADE AT NEXT PREPARATORY MEETING  
AND NOT AT BELGRADE. EFFORTS TO DRAFT OPENING SENTENCE  
IN FOLLOW-UP SECTION OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WERE  
THWARTED BY CONTINUED INSISTENCE OF ROMANIAN REP ON  
INCLUSION OF EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO PERIODICITY.

10. COMMENT: AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG TOLD THE SOVIET  
AMB AT THEIR LUNCH THAT HE BELIEVED THE SOVIET  
DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WAS TABLED AS A NEGOTIATING  
TACTIC, NOT THE LAST WORK. THERE IS A WIDESPREAD  
FEELING IN THE CONFERENCE THAT IN FACT THE SOVIETS WILL  
NEGOTIATE UP A BIT FROM THEIR PRESENT TEXT. IT  
REMAINS QUITE POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, THAT THEY WILL NOT  
PROVE FORTHCOMING ENOUGH TO JUSTIFY A SUBSTANTIAL  
DOCUMENT AND THAT IN THE END VIRTUALLY ALL PROPOSALS  
WILL FALL AWAY LEAVING THE BARE BONES OF A COMMUNIQUE  
THAT RECORDS THE FACTS OF A MEETING AND THE DECISION TO  
MEET AGAIN. SHOULD THIS HAPPEN, THE SOVIETS, AS MATTERS  
STAND NOW AT LEAST, WOULD RECEIVE LITTLE CREDIT FOR  
POLITICAL REALISM FROM CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS. THEY  
ARE WIDELY SEEN AS HAVING LOST THEIR POLITICAL NERVE  
BY TABLING THEIR JANUARY 17 DRAFT AND REFUSING THUS  
FAR TO DRAFT ON ANYTHING ELSE OF SUBSTANCE. TO

SMALLER AND MIDDLE-SIZED COUNTRIES INCLUDING KEY  
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NEUTRALS, YUGOSLAVIA, AND ROMANIA ALL  
OF WHOM HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY SHARP IN OPPOSING SOVIET  
TACTICS THIS WEEK, CURRENT SOVIET ACTIONS AMOUNT TO A  
DENIGRATION OF THE CSCE PROCESS TO WHICH THOSE COUNTRIES  
ATTACH PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE. THERE ARE SIGNS  
THAT THESE SOVIET TACTICS ARE LESS THAN UNANIMOUSLY  
POPULAR IN THEIR OWN CAMP. THE POLISH REP CAM UP TO  
THE U.S. REP AFTER ONE FRUSTRATING CBM SESSION TO  
APOLOGIZE FOR NOT BEING ABLE TO PARTICIPATE SUBSTANTIALLY  
AND TO SAY THAT HE WAS SURE HIS COLLEAGUE UNDERSTOOD  
THE SITUATION.

11. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE SEE OUR TASK AS BEING  
TO CONTINUE A GOOD-FAITH EFFORT TO DRAFT A  
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WITH REAL POLITICAL SUBSTANCE,  
INCLUDING REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION  
LANGUAGE, A BALANCED COLLECTION OF NEW PROPOSALS  
TO IMPROVE IMPLEMENTATION, AND APPROPRIATE  
TREATMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE ALSO NEED TO BE  
PERCEIVED, PARTICULARLY BY THE SMALLER AND MIDDLE-SIZED  
PARTICIPANTS, AS EASY TO STAY THE COURSE AS LONG  
AS THERE IS ANY CHANCE OF ACHIEVING A REASONABLE  
RESULT WITHOUT BEING UNDULY INFLUENCED BY THE IMMINENCE OF  
THE YELLOW BOOKS'S MID-FEBRUARY TARGET DATE. IF WE CAN  
DO THIS, THE CHANCES ARE GOOD THAT REGARDLESS OF WHAT  
MAY BE ACHIEVED IN THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WE WILL BE  
ABLE TO EMERGE FROM THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE NOT ONLY  
WITH A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THE FINAL ACT TO OUR CREDIT,  
BUT WITH A RENEWED DEMONSTRATION THAT IT IS THE SOVIETS  
WHO ARE PLAYING ODD MAN OUT IN THE DEVELOPING CSCE PROCESS.  
END COMMENT.  
SHERER

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